

PEKING REVIEW

51

December 19, 1975

北京周報

**Grasping the Dialectical Concept
Of the Unity of Opposites**

**Second World Develops Economic
Relations With Third World**

***Struggle Between Control and
Anti-Control in C.M.E.A.***

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Good News From Tachai

Good news continues to pour in from the Tachai Production Brigade in Shansi Province's Hsiyang County. Tachai's 1975 total grain output posted a 7.5 per cent increase over that of last year. The average yield per hectare topped 8,250 kilogrammes. Equally remarkable successes were also achieved in forestry, animal husbandry and side-occupations.

The Tachai Production Brigade is the national model in agriculture. This year's rich harvest is the 23rd since Tachai embarked on the road of agricultural co-operation in 1953 and the 10th straight rich harvest since 1966 when the Cultural Revolution started.

Since the beginning of this year, Tachai's Party branch has led the 450 commune members in studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, criticizing revisionism and capitalism, and going all out in building socialism. With added revolutionary fervour, they have gained this new victory.

The Tachai people always regard their victories as new starting points in their march forward and they never are complacent, nor do they ever come to a standstill.

After the recent National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, the following question was put to Tachai's commune members to discuss: "The whole nation is learning from Tachai and building Tachai-type counties throughout the country. What shall we do?" Soon afterwards, the Party branch held a

meeting mobilizing the masses to continue criticizing revisionism and capitalism and building socialism with might and main. With their enthusiasm soaring, they began a new battle to remove a hill and fill in the Chaopeiyu Gully. While this project was still going on, they began building a "man-made plain" in Hotso Gully. The Tachai people are determined to turn all seven gullies and eight ridges in their village into small plains.

Industrial Production Plans Overfulfilled

Good tidings of industrial enterprises fulfilling the annual state plans ahead of schedule have been streaming in from all parts of the country since the beginning of December.

Hopei, Kwangsi, Honan and Kirin all have met their production quotas of raw coal for this year ahead of time. Following the overfulfilment of the tasks set by the state for seven years running, the coal industry in Hopei Province fulfilled ahead of schedule its 1975 plans for raw coal, dressed coal and extraction footage. Compared with last year, production of raw and dressed coal was up 12.21 and 9.25 per cent and extraction footage increased 11.86 per cent. After fulfilling the annual state plan ahead of schedule, workers and staff members of the Kailan Coal Mine are now striving to double the designed raw coal production capacity by year's end. Mines in Kwangsi have adhered to the principle of self-reliance and stepped up production by making the necessary equipment themselves.

Hupeh and Kweichow fulfilled their annual plans for chemical fertilizer and phosphate fertilizer respectively by the end of October. Hupeh Province met its phosphate fertilizer production plan four months ahead of schedule, while output of phosphate ore, troilite ore and humate fertilizer topped the state plans.

Statistics from departments concerned show that by the end of October a great number of enterprises in southwest China's Szechuan Province had fulfilled annual state plans ahead of schedule. They included machinery plants, instrument and meter factories, motor vehicle works and wireless appliances factories which shoulder important production tasks in the national economy.

In the south, Kwangtung Province has made great headway with its small cement industry which has a total of 161 small plants set up in the province's 107 counties and cities. These plants met their production targets more than two months ahead of time and output was 4.5 times that of 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. This has given powerful support to farmland capital construction.

Vice-Premier Teng Meets Mr. Fanfani

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on December 15 met with former Italian Prime Minister and Life Senator Amintore Fanfani and Mrs. Mariapia Fanfani. Vice-Premier Teng had a friendly conversation with Mr. Fanfani.

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua met the Italian guests after their arrival in Peking on December 11.

Grasping the Dialectical Concept of The Unity of Opposites

by Yen Feng

USING the dialectical concept of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat profoundly reveals the internal contradictions in socialist society and points out the protracted, complex and tortuous nature of class struggle and the two-line struggle. Conscientious reading and study, grasping the dialectical concept of the unity of opposites and acting according to the inherent dialectics of objective things are of tremendous significance in our great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has said: "Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*) This means that all things in the world are contradictory entities. There is nothing which does not contain contradictions. Without contradiction nothing would exist and, of course, there would be no development to speak of. Consequently, in observing a thing we must be aware of its two mutually contradictory aspects, study how they coexist in a single entity and how they struggle with each other and, under certain conditions, how they transform themselves into each other. If we see only one aspect and not the other aspect as well and neglect the unity and struggle of opposites, we shall commit metaphysical and idealist errors.

Contradictions Exist in Socialist Society

Two contradictory aspects also exist in our socialist society. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads is the principal contradiction in socialist society.

Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory is a profound and concrete analysis of socialist society. Chairman Mao has said: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." This clearly tells us that on the one hand a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and public ownership of the means of production has been realized, and "China is a socialist country"; on the other hand, there still are things which "differ very little from the old society" and there are vestiges of old things in the new. Two mutually opposing factors exist simultaneously; dying capitalism and growing communism are locked in struggle. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the proletariat and the masses of revolutionary people adhere to the socialist road, developing the communist factors in a planned way, but the overthrown exploiting classes and the newborn bourgeois elements frantically try to safeguard moribund capitalism in order to turn back the clock of history. Consequently, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads is protracted, tortuous and sometimes very acute. This situation permeates the whole historical period of socialism.

Lenin pointed out: "It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state — without the bourgeoisie!" (*The State and Revolution*) We are now in the midst of this period of historical development. "Without the bourgeoisie" does not mean that bourgeois elements no longer exist; it means that the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown and a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, and the proletariat and other working people have be-

come masters of the state. As to "the bourgeois state," this too does not mean that there is no essential difference between it and the original meaning of the bourgeois state; it means that bourgeois right cannot as yet be completely eliminated and is in certain aspects allowed to exist legally, protected by the state, and under the dictatorship of the proletariat it can only be restricted. The proletariat has taken over state power and is exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and public ownership of the means of production has been basically realized — this is its essential difference from the old bourgeois state. Economically and politically, however, it cannot completely get rid of bourgeois traditions and vestiges; hence no insurmountable chasm exists between them. This is why Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.**"

Inside the Communist Party of China there also exist two mutually contradictory aspects, that is to say, there also exists the struggle between the correct line and the incorrect line. This is a reflection within the Party of class contradictions in society and contradictions between the new and the old. Over the past fifty years or so there have been ten big struggles between the two lines inside our Party, four of which have taken place in the period of socialist revolution. Our Party's struggles against Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were acute manifestations of the fierce class struggle inside and outside the country. These chieftains of revisionist lines sprang out one after the other to pit themselves against the dictatorship of the proletariat; they had their social basis inside the country as well as certain international background. In short, it is determined by the objective law of class struggle and is independent of man's will. Throughout the whole historical period of socialism, there is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and the capitalist roads, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. That is why the two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism in the Party will inevitably go on for a long time. Even in the future when classes will be eliminated and communism realized, there still will be the contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces and there still will be two mutually contradictory factors. Consequently, the struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous lines — which reflect these contradictions — will still exist. Chairman Mao said in 1971: "**We have been singing The Interna-**

tional for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no struggle when we get to Communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect." Chairman Mao has always taken pains to teach us to have a full understanding of the protracted nature of the two-line struggle.

Contradictions Transform Themselves Into Each Other

The two mutually contradictory aspects of an objective thing are not dead and rigid, but living, conditional and mobile and they transform themselves into each other. In socialist society, the communist factors and the capitalist factors and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie interact and interpenetrate and in given conditions transform themselves into one another. The proletariat is a vigorous revolutionary class and in the struggle against the bourgeoisie it continually grows and enlarges its strength, developing the socialist cause and forging ahead to the goal of communism. This is the principal aspect which plays the leading role. Although the bourgeoisie is daily declining, it is not resigned to its defeat but will again and again pit itself against the proletariat, launching attacks against the proletariat by using the vestiges in the economic, moral and intellectual fields left over from the old society, in addition to engaging in counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities. It tries in every way to corrupt our revolutionary ranks and seek agents inside our Party and state organs in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. Consequently, two possibilities face us: forge ahead to communism, or go back to capitalism. As early as 1963, Chairman Mao sounded the warning to the whole Party: If classes, class contradiction and class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are forgotten, "**then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!**" We have won great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, but we cannot say final victory has been won. Today the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road is still going on. Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory is another reminder to the whole Party and the people of the whole country that if

things are not handled correctly and well, capitalism could be restored in our country at any time. We must not treat this lightly.

Whether the proletariat or the bourgeoisie will win and whether our society will advance or retrogress depends on certain conditions. The two aspects in struggle will not transform themselves unless there is a given condition which is none other than our Party's line. Chairman Mao has said: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Our socialist cause will develop and advance when the line is correct, when we persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when bourgeois right is restricted and when all-round dictatorship is exercised over the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and other spheres at all times. Otherwise, our socialist society will move backwards if the line is incorrect, if bourgeois right is not restricted but wantonly enlarged and if capitalism is allowed to develop freely. We firmly believe that we can guard against and prevent a retrogression and restoration as has happened in the Soviet Union. This is because we have the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism drawn up by Chairman Mao. This line correctly reflects the objective law of class struggle in the period of socialism and represents the fundamental interests of the broad masses and is thus the fundamental guarantee for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to advance from victory to victory.

The New Will Triumph Over the Old

"The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.) The contradiction and struggle between the old and the new aspects in all things will inevitably end up with the new assuming the dominant position and defeating the old no matter how tortuous and repeated the struggle will be. As far as new things are concerned, setbacks are only temporary, and the general trend is that new things will develop and grow stronger and finally supersede the old. In the long period of socialist society, progress is the mainstream and the essence, whereas retrogression is only an eddy, a transient phenomenon. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union can only affect the pace of the international communist movement but will in no way whatsoever change the general trend of historical development. The first socialist country founded by Lenin has changed its political colour, but it can be said with certainty that after fierce and tortuous class struggle it ultimately will return to the path of Lenin. In 1962 Chairman Mao pointed out in his *Speech at the Working Conference (Enlarged)* of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: "Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long." Speaking about the inevitable defeat of plots by the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism in China, Chairman Mao said: "If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population." These theses affirm the incontrovertible truth that communism will inevitably triumph over capitalism.

In his "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin affirmed: "Communists should know that the future in any case belongs to them." Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The future is bright; the road is tortuous." The revolutionary cause of the proletariat has already won great victories and will win still greater victories. That we can use the law of the unity of opposites to study problems, dare to recognize the protractedness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, face up to the acute question of the possibility of a capitalist restoration in the historical period of socialism and dare to proclaim all this to the revolutionary people of China and the rest of the world is an expression of our strength and our utmost confidence in the future, and this is the attitude of thoroughgoing dialectical materialists. No revisionist or idealist is capable of doing this. In order to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are now acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching and doing "more reading of Marxist-Lenin works," learning to apply the dialectical-materialist viewpoint to observe and study problems, combating idealism and metaphysics, preventing rigidity in thinking and separation from reality and striving to overcome one-sidedness and subjectivism. As clear-headed revolutionaries, we must be aware that there is the danger of a capitalist restoration in the historical period of socialism, but we must above all recognize the inevitability of the ultimate triumph of Marxism-Leninism; we must not be blind to the arduous and tortuous struggle just because the future is bright, nor lose confidence because the struggle is long and tortuous and become half-hearted revolutionaries.

(Translation of an article in "Hongqi,"
No. 9, 1975. Subheads are ours.)

The Key Lies in the County Party Committee

— Last of four reports on the nationwide movement to build Tachai-type counties

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

CHAIRMAN Mao teaches us: "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party." "Within the ambit of a county, the county Party committee should play the main role of leadership."

China has 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (not including Taiwan Province which remains to be liberated), with more than 2,200 counties under their jurisdiction. In making great efforts to develop socialist agriculture, it is necessary to strengthen the leadership of the Party organizations at all levels. As far as a county is concerned, the county Party committee should be a strong leading body. As the recent National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture has pointed out: The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees.

Revolutionization of County Party Committee

A leading member of the Party committee of Hsiyang which is a Tachai-type county put it well: "To judge whether or not a county has done a good job in socialist revolution and construction, we must first of all see if the county Party committee is leading the people forward along the socialist road or issuing permits to capitalism. In solving problems in society, it is necessary to solve them in the Party and the county Party committee first."

Take Hsiyang for example. It was hit by a severe drought in 1972. A few comrades on the county Party committee wavered and didn't know what to do. They wanted to ask for state relief, suspend farmland capital construction and let the labour force go into side-occupations to make money in cash. Some production brigades actually did this. In this critical hour, the first thing the county Party committee did was to criticize such ideas in the committee itself that were bound to weaken the collective economy and throw overboard the principle of self-reliance, pointing out that they were manifestations of the revisionist influence and represented the tendency to taking the capitalist road. Through ideological struggle, the county Party

committee's leading members began to see things in the same light and, in the Tachai spirit, were determined to overcome difficulties. Thus, under the committee's leadership, the whole county went into immediate action, going all out to boost farm production in spite of the severe dry spell.

"Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.)

To ensure revolutionization in the ideology of its own members, the county Party committee of Hsiyang stressed the need "to fight three things and persist in two." This meant that it must fight against the influence of revisionism in the committee, against bourgeois ideas corrupting the cadres and against the influence of small production in the Party. In addition, it must persist in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, for this is the only way to understand from a high theoretical level the complicated social phenomena and struggles and tell the difference between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. It must also persevere in taking part in



Members on the Hsiyang county Party committee.

collective productive labour together with the commune members. With cadres at the county level generally doing manual labour 100 days a year (200 days in the case of commune cadres and 300 days in the case of production brigade cadres), they have maintained extensive, constant and close ties with the labouring people.

"Open-door rectification." This is an effective measure taken by the committee for mobilizing the Hsiyang people to help its members revolutionize their thinking. Different ways are used to solicit opinions, one of which is to ask cadres at the grass-roots level who dare to speak up to come and work for a period in the county Party committee or county government offices so that they can find out what is wrong with the Party committee and make criticisms accordingly. Another way is to invite commune and production brigade cadres to come and say what they think of the Party committee. The third way is to mobilize the masses to write big-character posters to air their views when the committee is carrying out a rectification campaign. With constant help and supervision from the masses and cadres at the grass-roots level, it is able to discover its shortcomings and mistakes and overcome them in good time.

In this way, the Hsiyang county Party committee has grown into a core of leadership which, united and militant, resolutely carries out the Party's line and policies. Thus this leading body is able to have a unified will, take concerted action and stand in the forefront of the class struggle and the struggle to conquer nature.

Educating Peasants in the Party's Basic Line

Deepening education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is the fundamental guarantee for building Tachai-type counties.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, Chairman Mao put forward the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. He pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

Many advanced counties distinguished for their achievements in learning from Tachai shared their ex-

periences with others at the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture. The basic reason why they had learnt well and with remarkable success was that, like the Tachai Production Brigade, they had seriously implemented the Party's basic line and persisted in educating the peasants in this line.

Tunchang, a county with a population of 130,000 in the central part of Hainan Island in Kwangtung Province, is a good example. Because it once failed to grasp the key link—class struggle and the two-line struggle—a handful of overthrown landlords, rich peasants and other class enemies either openly engaged in sabotage or made trouble covertly. They egged on some well-to-do peasants with serious spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism to undermine the foundation of the socialist collective economy, induced able-bodied people to leave the villages and take up side-occupations on their own, and even pulled cadres over to their side and corrupted them. As a result, production remained stagnant; average grain output for the whole county in 1970 was only 3.8 tons per hectare.

Tunchang began its campaign of learning from Tachai in earnest in 1972. The county Party committee led the peasants in striking hard blows at the class enemies who carried out sabotage activities. The peasants were educated in the basic line in a specific, vivid and lively way and guided to take the road of socialism un-



Secretary of the county Party committee of Tunchang (first from left, front row) taking part in surveying water resources.

swervingly. During the last few years, the whole county completed farmland capital construction projects involving more than 20 million cubic metres of earth and stone work so that areas under irrigation were expanded from 4,000 hectares to 8,300 hectares, or 60 per cent of the county's land under cultivation. Average per-hectare yield of grain in 1974 went up to 7.3 tons, almost twice as much as that in 1970. Much progress also has been made in producing edible oil and sugar, raising hogs and growing cash crops.

"There are changes in the people, the land and the output," said comrades on the Tunchang county Party committee, "but the change in the people is the fundamental one. Only when the people are imbued with the socialist zeal to work can there be changes in the land and output."

In the last few years, the whole county has constantly undertaken to educate commune members and cadres who have been affected by tendencies towards capitalism to varying degrees. Facts show that peasants from the old society still retain certain characteristic habits inherent in small production and are liable to be influenced by capitalist ideology. But the overwhelming majority of them, led and educated by the Party, ardently love socialism and are willing to take the socialist road.

There was, for instance, a member in the Fengmu Commune who in the past did not show much zest in collective productive labour and frequently went off to sell vegetables at fairs to make money for himself. To help and educate him, cadres in the locality made a detailed study of his past. They learnt that he came from a poor family and both his grandfather and father had carried sedan chairs for landlords in the old society. His grandfather was beaten to death, while his father died of starvation and he himself was pressganged to work in a mine as a youth and had suffered a lot. So the cadres got his old cronies and relatives together to recall with him his miserable life in the old society, urging him to take the socialist road for the common good and not the capitalist road which leads to class polarization. Thanks to this education, that commune member began mending his way. He now enthusiastically takes part in collective production and has been commended on many occasions.

As a result of constantly criticizing the tendency towards capitalism and imbuing the peasant masses with the socialist ideology, people work as one to build socialism in a big way and from this a tremendous force is released. A production team in the Fengmu Commune has only a labour force of 20 or so. Besides working in the fields, they also tend a rubber plantation and an orchard, and raise livestock and ducks. Now each household in the team provides the state with four tons of marketable grain annually. Chen Ju-chin, an octogenarian in the team, to this day still keeps reclaiming land on the mountain slopes for the collective, rain or shine, year in year out. He has been cited by the masses as an advanced element and he joined the Communist Party last year.

In the last few years, the whole county has cited over 1,700 advanced elements. The movement to learn from Tachai in Tunchang is now in full swing.

Going All Out in Building Socialism

There is one thing in common about all the Party committees of the 300-odd advanced counties which have distinguished themselves in learning from Tachai. They are all fired with the lofty will to "rearrange the mountains and rivers" and they play the exemplary role of being always in the van in going all out in building socialism.

Huihsien County in central China's Honan Province was historically known for its poor natural conditions and backwardness. Since the Great Cultural Revolution began, it has transformed itself into an advanced county in learning from Tachai. Today, the once fragmented small plots of farmland there have been turned into tiers of terraced fields and crops grow in former river beds and pebbly gullies. A huge network of irrigation canals has been built in the mountain areas while highways zigzag up the mountains. Even rocky hills have been afforested after blasting them for planting trees. Statistics show that since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966, the people of Huihsien County have built 2,000 hectares of new farmland, 370 kilometres of mountain highways and 33 small and medium-sized reservoirs and set up many factories run by the county or the communes to serve agricultural production. In 1974 when there was a drought in Huihsien, the per-unit grain output averaged 2.4 times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started.

Huihsien County elected its revolutionary committee in the winter of 1967 amidst the high tide of the Great Cultural Revolution. Members of the new leading group made a deep-going criticism of the mistakes of the old Party committee which had carried out Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. They also asked themselves the pointed question: "Though all are in the Taihang Mountains, the Tachai Production Brigade in Shansi has blazed a new trail and our neighbour Linhsien County has chiselled out the nationally famous Red Flag Canal on precipitous cliffs, why is there little change in our own county?" By way of reply, they made up their minds to lead the masses in transforming the mountains and rivers.

Over the last few years, comrades on the county Party committee have always persevered in taking part in manual labour and doing the most backbreaking jobs in the most trying places. When building mountain highways, leading comrades on the county Party committee, wearing safety ropes around their waists, worked alongside the peasants, driving chisels into the cliffs. In spring, they worked on the farmland with commune members and in winter lived at the water conservancy construction sites among the peasants.

County Party committee members often keep in mind the fact that the revolutionary political power of the proletariat is entirely different from the old bureaucratic regimes. Our cadres are not bureaucrats.

The essential difference is whether one serves the working people or not. The committee is determined to reform the administrative setup and simplify the structure at the county level so as to keep close ties with the masses. Many cadres have gone down to the grass roots while those remaining in the office spend two-thirds of their time each year at the grass roots to investigate and study, do manual labour and solve problems that arise in the day-to-day work.

First secretary of the county Party committee Cheng Yung-ho has set an example for others to follow. Whenever he makes the rounds of the villages, he always pulls carts or carries things for the production teams. The story of how he took the cadres to an "examination for masons" has been told and retold by the people of Huihsien. It happened that when the county was building its first medium-sized reservoir, progress in fashioning stones was slow due to a lack of masons. This affected the project itself. The worksite headquarters telephoned the county Party committee for more masons, but all available ones in the county were working elsewhere. So Cheng took some county Party committee members with him to the site. "Let's learn to do what the revolution expects us to," he said. He suggested that a mason be invited to start a class to teach the craft. Three weeks later, the "apprentices" were given an "examination," with the peasant-workers and commune members acting as "examiners." The result was that of the more than 20 members of com-

mune Party committees or higher who took part in the examination, only two failed. Cheng Yung-ho's name was third on the list.

When this story got around, a high tide of learning masonry for building reservoirs and terraced fields soon swept the whole county. Before long the county's skilled masons soared from 3,000 to 40,000. Later, there also were "women masons" at the construction sites.

Many delegates at the national conference on learning from Tachai had animated discussions of how cadres of some advanced counties took the lead in building socialism in a big way. They said: "Having or not having callused hands is an important test for members of a county Party committee in the movement to learn from Tachai."

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "**Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined.**" (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War.*) The advanced counties' experience in learning from Tachai once again speaks for this truth. It can be predicted that in the battle to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, there will be more and more county Party committees which, following the examples of the Party branch of the Tachai Production Brigade and the Hsiyang Party committee, will lead the masses in vehemently criticizing revisionism and capitalism and building socialism with might and main.

Second World Develops Economic Relations With Third World

Propelled by the third world's struggle to change the old international economic order, the second world is readjusting and developing its economic relations and increasing its "dialogue" and links with the third world. This is a good phenomenon in international economic life today.

INTERNATIONAL conferences in recent years have reflected the trend of the second world strengthening its ties with the third world. At the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) conference in Peru's capital, Lima, early this year, representatives of many second world countries in their speeches said they were going to change their relationship with the developing countries. Ireland's Minister for Industry and Commerce, speaking on behalf of the nine European Economic Community countries, expressed the E.E.C.'s desire to establish stable and equitable relations with the third world. The Norwegian delegate also said that the Norwegian

Government approved and supported the main purposes of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, which were also supported by the majority of the second world countries. At the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly not long ago, second world countries — France, Italy, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Finland and Sweden — voiced support to varying degrees for the third world's demand to change the old international economic order. They advocated continuing the "dialogue" and improving relations with the third world countries. The preparatory meeting for the conference on international economic co-operation, which was convened last October at the suggestion of French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, arrived at some agreements after breaking through obstructions put up by the United States which insisted that the future conference should discuss only the energy prob-

tem and opposed discussion of the question of raw materials and other problems. This was the result of the prevalence of the second world's resolute stand for "dialogue" with the third world countries.

Another manifestation of the second world strengthening its links with the third world is the establishment and development of multilateral relations between them. In March 1974, the nine foreign ministers of the E.E.C. decided at their conference on a long-term "dialogue" with 20 Arab countries. At the end of February this year 46 developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific signed the Lome convention with the nine E.E.C. countries after repeated contacts and discussions. This convention to some extent has changed the unequal practice of forcing down raw material prices and raising prices for industrial goods, a practice carried out by the industrial countries in trade with the developing countries. It was an important step by the second world in developing economic ties with the third world. In June, July and November three meetings of experts were held within the framework of Arab-European "dialogue" to further discuss the question of strengthening co-operation. In mid-September, a special mission of the E.E.C. led by Christopher Soames, Vice-President of the E.E.C. Commission, had talks in Guatemala City with the ministers of economy of the five Central American Common Market (M.C.C.A.) member states (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) as well as with chiefs of various M.C.C.A. organs. After the talks a joint communique was issued announcing that the M.C.C.A. and the E.E.C. will enter into closer economic co-operation and have more direct ties with each other.

Meanwhile, bilateral relations between second and third world countries have been strengthened. In June last year, Italy signed a 3,100-million-dollar industrial development agreement with Iran and in the following month a 12-year 3,000-million-dollar agreement on economic and technical co-operation with Iraq. In June last year, Iran and France signed a 4,500-million-dollar economic agreement. The two countries concluded last December another economic agreement involving 6,000 million dollars. In January this year, Britain concluded a 1,200-million-dollar trade agreement with Iran on the sale of 15 British 10,000-ton-class freighters. Japan's economic dealings with third world countries in the Middle East and North Africa also showed a marked increase. In 1974, Japan's total exports to 22 countries in the regions was 6.3 times that of 1970.

Furthermore, some East European countries controlled and bled by the Soviet Union are gradually developing economic relations with the third world countries in order to improve their own economic situation. In recent years, there has been a relatively speedy development of Poland's economic relations with oil producing third world countries. It signed a long-term economic co-operation agreement with Iran in 1973 and the volume of trade between Poland and Al-

geria in 1974 was more than seven times that in 1973. Bulgaria has now established economic and trade relations with over 80 developing countries. Hungary's volume of trade with the developing countries is 84 per cent over that of 1970. Certain East European countries now are continuing to strengthen their economic relations with the third world.

These changes in relations between the second and third worlds are not accidental. The situation in the second world countries, in between the superpowers and the developing countries, is complicated. Some of them to this day still maintain various forms of colonialist relations with third world countries, which should be ended. But, at the same time, they all suffer to varying degrees superpower control, bullying, exploitation and plunder and are trying to rid themselves of superpower control and interference and safeguard their independence and state sovereignty. With the growth and development of the third world, more and more second world countries, motivated by considerations of their own economic interests and their need to counter the two hegemonic powers, are for "dialogue" with third world countries and are actively developing relations with them.

The second world relies on the third world for energy and raw materials. For example, 80 per cent of West European oil imports come from the Middle East and North Africa, and many of Japan's industrial raw materials come from these regions too, with 90 per cent of its petroleum from the Middle East. At the Paris meeting of foreign and finance ministers of the member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) in late May, Foreign Minister Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany said that the Western countries have become "more and more dependent on the raw materials of the third world countries, particularly in oil." The united struggle of those countries on the question of raw materials, especially the united struggle of the oil producing countries using the oil weapon, has made some second world countries understand to varying degrees that in their own interests it is necessary to break the monopoly of certain world affairs by the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have a direct "dialogue" with third world countries and steadily improve relations with them.

With the capitalist economic crisis looming over and affecting most parts of the world, some second world countries want urgently to strengthen their economic relations with the third world countries so as to counter the two hegemonic powers and expand their own markets. For the first time in the postwar years, Japan's 1974 imports from the third world and exports to it surpassed total Japanese imports and exports with the first and second worlds. The European Economic Community's trade with the third world also witnessed a marked increase. Total value of imports from the

(Continued on p. 21.)

Look at Its Past, and You Can Tell Its Present

SOVIET social-imperialism's outrageous intervention in Angola by provoking and expanding the civil war in that country is known to all and is something the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cannot deny.

For some differences to exist among the three Angolan liberation organizations was normal and they could have been settled through consultations without outside interference. In fact, as early as last January, all three jointly arrived at the Alvor agreement with the Portuguese Government and then jointly formed the transitional government in preparation for the country's independence. In mid-June, they signed the Nakuru agreement to cease armed conflict and jointly greet national independence. National unity of the three organizations was in sight. But the treacherous new tsars by supporting one and attacking the other two have single-handedly provoked a civil war in Angola and poured oil on the flames of war.

While inciting civil war in Angola, the new tsars cranked up their entire propaganda machine to confuse world public opinion by ranting that they "support the liberation struggle of Angola" and are "performing their internationalist obligation."

Are the new tsars "performing their internationalist obligation" or carrying out imperialist expansion?

In analysing the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."

Opposing National-Liberation Wars

Look at the history of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique and its approach to just national-liberation wars, and you can tell its ulterior motives regarding Angola today.

The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique invented the theory that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" which might even "destroy Noah's ark — the globe." Therefore, to "safeguard world peace" and protect "Noah's ark — the globe," they have all along opposed just national-liberation wars.

The Algerian national-liberation war in the late 50s and early 60s won the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world. But Khrushchov and his like, basing themselves on the theory that any small war might spark a big one, described the Algerian people's just national-liberation war as "an internal affair of France" and never gave it any support.

Early in the 70s after the U.S. imperialists had instigated the traitorous Lon Nol clique to set off a

coup d'état and then invaded Cambodia, the Cambodian people waged a vigorous patriotic national-liberation war against imperialism. Calling it "fratricidal" fighting, the new tsars aided and abetted the Lon Nol clique instead of supporting the Cambodian people's just war. They colluded with the clique so as to sabotage the Cambodian people's liberation war.

The new tsars are guided by the same absurd theory with respect to the just war of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressors. They oppose any attacks by the Arab countries on the aggressors. If the Arab countries refuse to obey their orders, the new tsars rush to put out the fire with no scruples as to the means they use.

The Middle East war of October 1973 was a case in point. The Soviet ambassador to Egypt even lied to President Sadat, saying that Syria demanded a "ceasefire." Then the Soviet Representative to the U.N. Malik made use of a U.N. Security Council resolution to force Egypt and Syria to enter into a ceasefire with Israel.

All these hard facts of history explicitly show that both Khrushchov and Brezhnev are opposed to just wars for national liberation. Whenever there is one, they demand a ceasefire.

Starting Wars of Aggression Directly or Indirectly

But by single-handedly provoking the civil war in Angola, the Brezhnev clique suddenly changed from an opponent and saboteur to a "supporter" of just wars.

One will not be deceived by such sleight of hand if one goes back through the history of the new tsars.

In August 1968, they perfidiously occupied Czechoslovakia in a surprise assault as Hitler had done 30 years ago.

After their treacherous invasion of Czechoslovakia, the new tsars carried out an armed aggression of China's Chenpao Island in the spring of 1969. But they were given head-on blows and were duly punished.

In the winter of 1971, the new tsars instigated and fully supported a "sub-superpower" to launch a war of aggression against Pakistan. In sharp contrast to their attitude towards the Middle East war which erupted later, the new tsars resolutely opposed a ceasefire in the subcontinent. The U.N. Security Council put a draft resolution on a ceasefire to a vote three times in December that year. But the resolution was vetoed each time by the Soviet representative.

This is the history of the new tsars starting armed invasions directly or indirectly from 1968 to 1971.

One can see that the new tsars' clamour that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" is to justify the theory of opposing all national-liberation wars. But they would not hesitate to unleash a war to achieve their ambition of world domination.

Look at their past, and you can tell their present. After the signing of the Alvor agreement the new tsars sent to Angola large quantities of missiles and armoured cars — never before supplied to Angolan liberation organizations — to support one faction against the other two. Soviet war vessels entered an Angolan port and fired rockets, thus adding fuel to the flames of the civil war in Angola. This by no means was support for a just war or carrying out "internationalist obligation,"

but an effort to replace the old colonialists in controlling Angola.

Angola's coast is on the eastern part of the South Atlantic. If the new tsars can control Angola, they will be in a very advantageous position to contend with the other superpower for world hegemony, posing a direct threat to NATO's shipping lanes in the South Atlantic. With impatient expectancy, the new tsars have long been hungering for the treasured land of Angola.

But they have miscalculated. The African people have awakened. They will never allow the new tsars to play the tyrant on the continent and will never let the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, December 8)

Struggle Between Control and Anti-Control in C.M.E.A.

by Kuo Chun

THE Soviet Union recently signed a series of 1976-80 national economic co-ordination protocols with some East European member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Making a big fanfare about this, the Soviet revisionist chieftains and their press alleged that signing these protocols had "strengthened the integration of economic life in the C.M.E.A. countries," "helped enhance the identity and unity of the big community," etc. Their purpose is to cover up the intensifying contradictions and struggle in the C.M.E.A., deceive the Soviet people and the people of some East European countries and create public opinion for tightening their control of these countries.

At the 29th C.M.E.A. meeting last June, the Soviet revisionists offered a "draft resolution on co-ordinating the C.M.E.A. members' multilateral integration measures for 1976-80." Posing as the "patriarchs" of the "socialist big community," they insisted that some East European countries should revise their new five-year plans in accordance with the "draft resolution," compelling them to provide money, manpower and equipment for building a number of gigantic "integrated projects" on Soviet territory. Reports said an investment of 15,500 million U.S. dollars would be needed for these projects. This undoubtedly is an extremely heavy burden on these East European countries which already have run into an acute shortage of money and manpower. The Soviet "draft resolution" has evoked strong resentment from these countries. The Bulgarian press openly stated that the country has "a low level of development," needs a "huge amount of loans" and faces a "shortage of manpower" and, therefore, the "possibility is limited" for Bulgaria to provide the Soviet Union with loans and manpower. The Polish press complained that building such "integrated projects" means to "provide the Soviet Union with investments and credits" and calls for "big organizational work." Czechoslovak

authorities declared that "we have no manpower, investments and foreign exchange funds." The German Democratic Republic and Hungary also have expressed discontent with the Soviet practice. But under big pressure from the Soviet revisionists, the "protocols" were finally signed. This, of course, does not at all mean enhancement of "the identity and unity of the big community." On the contrary, it has intensified the struggle between control and anti-control in C.M.E.A.

Tightening Control

East European countries have every reason to express their discontent and complaints. They have had many bitter experiences participating in "co-ordinating plans" with the Soviet Union over the years. Both Khrushchov and Brezhnev made "co-ordination of plans" an important means of controlling East European countries and pressed on with the change from co-ordinating annual "plans" to co-ordinating "five-year plans" and "long-term plans"; from "bilateral co-ordination" to "multilateral co-ordination"; from drafting member states' national plans before "co-ordination" to preceding the making of plans with "co-ordination"; and from "co-ordinating the plans" to "integrating the plans." In a word, the Soviet social-imperialists are tightening their control of East European countries.

The "co-ordination" forcibly imposed by the Soviet Union on East European C.M.E.A. members has deprived them of the power to develop their national economies independently and compelled them to carry out "specialized" production within the framework of "integration," thus turning them into affiliated factories and bases supplying the huge Soviet state-monopoly capitalist economic system with machinery, vehicles, manufactured goods, daily necessities, spare parts and accessories and making them heavily dependent on the Soviet Union

for the important industrial raw materials and fuel they need. Using its monopoly of raw materials and fuels as a coercive means, the Soviet Union ruthlessly plunders East European countries of their funds, manpower, industrial and agricultural products and rare metal resources, thereby reducing them to dependencies of the Soviet colonial empire.

Growing Centrifugal Tendency

The East European member states have resented the tyrannical Soviet actions for years and their separatist tendency to get rid of Moscow's control is growing. These countries saw all the more clearly the avaricious features of the Soviet revisionists early this year when, to shift the burden of economic difficulties on to others, Moscow unilaterally tore up agreements and greatly raised prices of oil exports to them.

Over the past year and more, East European C.M.E.A. members in general have stressed tapping their own potential, developing their own energy and reducing energy dependence on the Soviet Union. Limited by their natural conditions, these countries lack sufficient oil and natural gas resources, but some are quite rich in coal resources. As a result of carrying out "specialized" production in line with the "division of labour" required by the Soviet Union, their coal and petroleum industries have remained stagnant and output even has been declining. An unprecedented coal energy conference was held in the German Democratic Republic last May. Broadening its own energy bases and maximum utilization of domestic raw materials and fuel resources and gradually increasing fuel and energy supplies were stressed. The G.D.R. Government has decided to increase investment in energy exploitation by 20 per cent in the next five-year plan. The Polish leaders also have stressed that intensified efforts would be made to locate oil and natural gas deposits while accelerating anthracite and lignite extraction. The Czechoslovak leaders and press have proposed better utilization of domestic natural resources, maximum use of their own fuel bases and putting the main attention on coal production. Hungary has put forward the slogan "go all out to step up prospecting for domestic coal, petroleum and natural gas resources," striving to raise oil and natural gas output and energetically encouraging energy economizing. Even Bulgaria which depended most heavily on Soviet oil and natural gas has set up a new oil production and management agency and decided to tap its own shale oil resources so as to cut imports from the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet revisionists' tyrannical actions that have compelled some East European countries to adopt various measures to break down the "division of labour" and "specialization" convention imposed on them by rulers in the Kremlin. This shows the unpopularity of the Soviet despotic behaviour and reflects East European countries' desire to shake off Soviet control.

Another important indication of the efforts by East European C.M.E.A. members to free themselves from Soviet control is that they try to promote their national economic development and increase their capacity

against Soviet control by breaching the "big community" confines to borrow money from Western countries, introduce their techniques and expand trade with them. East European C.M.E.A. member states in recent years have maintained frequent contacts with Western countries, signed a series of long-term trade agreements and accords on economic and technical co-operation and received large loans from these countries. This trend has been growing notably since the beginning of this year. Not long ago, the Hungarian press indicated that in the new five-year plan Hungary's "long-term interests" would call for further development of work in capitalist markets. Last February, it secured a loan of 100 million U.S. dollars from Western banks to buy industrial equipment from the West. In addition to the two huge loans received from the West last April and May with which to exploit domestic coal and copper mines, Poland has signed an agreement with the United States on grain purchases. General Motors was ready recently to set up a big lorry plant in Lublin in co-operation with Poland. Reports have said that this represents one of the biggest investments made by a U.S. company in Eastern Europe. Some other East European countries also have actively expanded economic relations with the West.

Developing Economic Exchanges With Third World

Meanwhile, member states have actively developed their economic ties, production co-operation and credit relations with third world countries and signed long-term agreements with Middle East oil producing countries on importing oil so as to open up new fuel sources. Hungary is an example. The volume of its trade with developing countries has increased 84 per cent since 1970, and 1974's figure was 54 per cent greater than in 1973. In the first half of this year alone, oil imports from Middle East oil producing countries rose 140.3 per cent over the same 1974 period. Hungary, Czechoslovakia and another country are now laying an oil pipeline under the Adriatic Sea aimed at reducing their dependence on the Soviet Union and getting oil directly from Arab countries.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks profusely about the "amity," "unity" and "identity" of the "socialist big community" under its control. Stark reality, however, has given it a slap in the face. Because the Soviet revisionists are so vicious and cruel in bullying others, their new colonial tactics have been more and more strongly opposed and rejected by East European countries and peoples. The revisionists' baton is becoming ever less effective. Voices of resentment are often heard from these countries which, with their own objectives to pursue, are trying to find a way out. The United States, the rival of the Soviet Union in the contention for world hegemony, has seized the opportunity to step up infiltration and undermine Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. With the ever fiercer rivalry in Europe between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, the struggle between control and anti-control in the C.M.E.A. will inevitably grow sharper.

Reference Material for Study

"Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (12)

This is the concluding part of this series of reference material for study.—Ed.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but itself life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banner: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!

Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

Question: What is the basic idea of this quotation from Marx?

Answer: It points to the three conditions necessary for the transition from socialism to communism and the application of the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." They are: (1) The old social division of labour; and with it the antithesis between mental and manual labour, has vanished; (2) labour has become the prime want of life; (3) the productive forces have become highly developed and products are in great abundance.

After pointing out the connections between socialist and communist societies with the former covering a period of revolutionary transformation into the latter, Marx stressed that only when certain conditions prevail can bourgeois right be completely abolished and the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" be applied, thus heralding the great era of communism. This profoundly elucidates the thesis of integrating the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of the development of revolution by stages.

We are advocates of the Marxist theory of uninterrupted revolution. We hold that things are always moving forward and that socialism and communism are not and definitely must not be allowed to be separated by a Great Wall. We must persist in continuing the revo-

lution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and never stand still. At the same time, we are advocates of the Marxist theory of the development of revolution by stages. We maintain that different stages of development reflect the qualitative change of things, and we should not get confused with the qualitatively different stages, nor go beyond the stage of historical development to do what cannot possibly be accomplished at present. In dealing with bourgeois right which exists in socialist society, therefore, we should on the one hand be aware that it is a "defect" left over from the old society and consequently we must restrict it, minimize its negative role and actively create conditions for its abolition in the future; on no account should we strengthen and extend it. On the other hand, we should know that bourgeois right still plays its historical role at the present stage and, therefore, must recognize and use it; under no circumstances should we try to abolish it root and branch overnight. The sole aim of recognizing and using bourgeois right or restricting it is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the socialist cause, prevent capitalist restoration and ensure the complete triumph of socialism over capitalism. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, all the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the Constitution and laws of our country embody the Marxist thesis of integrating the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of the development of revolution by stages.

Question: How should we understand the three conditions as pointed out by Marx for the transition to communism under which the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is applied?

Answer: (1) "The enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished." This remark means the abolition of the three major differences, or all class distinctions.

"The enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour" refers to the old social division of labour which kept people chained to certain occupations all their lives. Such a division of labour gave rise to the three major differences, namely, differences between industry and agriculture, between town and country and between mental and manual labour. The separation and antithesis between mental and manual labour constitute the main difference which is "one of the principal sources of modern social inequality—a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be re-

“moved immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property.” (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.) A remark by Engels is of great help to us in understanding this question. He said: “So long as human labour was still so little productive that it provided but a small surplus over and above the necessary means of subsistence, any increase of the productive forces, extension of trade, development of the state and of law, or foundation of art and science, was possible only by means of a greater division of labour. And the necessary basis for this was the great division of labour between the masses discharging simple manual labour and the few privileged persons directing labour, conducting trade and public affairs, and, at a later stage, occupying themselves with art and science. The simplest and most natural form of this division of labour was in fact slavery.” (*Anti-Duhring*.) He further pointed out: “Only the immense increase of the productive forces attained by modern industry has made it possible to distribute labour among all members of society without exception, and thereby to limit the labour-time of each individual member to such an extent that all have enough free time left to take part in the general — both theoretical and practical — affairs of society.” Only then, “every ruling and exploiting class has become superfluous.” (*ibid.*)

Under socialist conditions, the old way of division of labour and the three major differences still remain, as does the inequality of bourgeois right which reflects these differences. Hence the emergence of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. By carrying out revolution in education and in all spheres of culture and adopting such revolutionary measures as cadres taking part in collective productive labour, educated young people settling in the rural areas and people of all trades and professions taking the “May 7” road, we are gradually narrowing the three major differences, enabling the working people to master intellectual work and intellectuals to integrate with the working people and training labourers with both socialist consciousness and culture. It is certain that through sustained efforts and the continuous deepening of socialist revolution and the vigorous development of socialist construction, we will step by step ultimately create conditions for freeing people completely from the one-sidedness caused by the old division of labour and eliminating the three major differences.

(2) “Labour has become not only a means of life but itself life’s prime want.” This mainly refers to the great enhancement of the ideological level of people who have completely done away with, intellectually and morally, the birth marks of the old society. Generally speaking, this has not yet been achieved in the socialist stage except in the case of a few advanced elements. Therefore, it is still necessary to apply the principle “to each according to his work” and strictly supervise productive labour and consumption. To make labour everybody’s prime need in life depends mainly on persistently putting politics in command, incessantly carrying out ideological education and remoulding one’s

world outlook. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to make constant efforts to carry out technical innovations and technical revolution and raise labour productivity. When people’s communist consciousness and social labour productivity have been enormously raised. “productive labour will become a pleasure instead of being a burden.” (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*.)

(3) “The productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly.” This means the productive forces are highly developed and products are in great abundance, so much so that the needs of every member of society can be fully satisfied. Here Marx made the individual’s all-round development a premise for the growth of the productive forces and stressed the important role of human beings. This is at one with the idea he set forth earlier that “the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.” (*The Poverty of Philosophy*.) It also indicates that these three conditions put forward by Marx are united, interlinked and inseparable.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels:
Manifesto of the Communist Party
(February 1848)

Question: Why is it that the Communists’ ends “can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions”?

Answer: This thesis is based on a scientific analysis of the essence of the state. The state is the product of the irreconcilability of class contradictions and a tool for the oppression of one class by another. The state itself means violence and is an organ of violent rule and a “special repressive force.” (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*.) All ruling classes in history have relied on violence to maintain their rule. With the sharpening of class contradictions and the intensifying of class struggle, the ruling classes always continually strengthen their special bodies of armed men and step up their suppression of the classes being ruled. With the advent of the era of imperialism, the bourgeoisie which has become more reactionary politically as a result of its economic monopoly does everything in its power to strengthen the reactionary state machinery. Today, the two superpowers have strengthened the machinery of counter-revolutionary violence to a terrifying extent in order to suppress the people at home and despoil those in other parts of the world.

Precisely because of this, the revolutionary classes, in order to overthrow the old system, must use revolutionary violence to topple the rule of the reactionary classes and establish their own rule. And to eliminate the exploitation system lock, stock, and barrel, the proletariat must resort to revolutionary violence to thoroughly smash the bourgeoisie's state machinery for enforcing violent rule and set up its own state machinery to exercise violent rule over the bourgeoisie and replace the bourgeoisie's "special repressive force" with the proletariat's "special repressive force." Revolutionary violence, as Marx said, "is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (*Capital*) The entire history of the international communist movement fully proves the absolute correctness of the Marxist theory of violent revolution.

Revolutionary violence is necessary both before and after the seizure of political power. This is because after the proletariat has seized political power, the enemies at home, though already overthrown, are still around and are not reconciled to their defeat but always dream of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. They still have extensive international connections and domestic social connections. Abroad, imperialism and social-imperialism are trying at every turn to invade and subvert the states under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To smash the schemes of class enemies at home and abroad, the victorious proletariat must take firm hold of revolutionary violence which is a weapon that the revolutionary people who have seized political power cannot do without even for a single moment, just as it was indispensable to them before their seizure of political power. They must never discard this weapon so long as there are classes and class struggle at home and abroad. Of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie does not involve the use of violence alone. It consists of an all-round dictatorship in all spheres including bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative struggles.

Whether to uphold or to oppose revolutionary violence is a touchstone for distinguishing genuine from sham Marxism. Catering to the needs of the bourgeoisie, all opportunists invariably oppose both the seizure of political power by the proletariat through violent revolution and the use of revolutionary violence by the proletariat to suppress class enemies after political power is seized. Out of his bitter hatred for the proletariat, the bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao used the reactionary Confucian preaching that "he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish" to viciously attack the revolutionary violence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China as "dictatorial rule" and "tyranny." This was a shameless betrayal of Marxism.

Question: How should we understand Lenin's words that "the Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims"?

Answer: This shows the Communists' revolutionary spirit of being open and aboveboard. Their views and aims represent the will and aspirations of the proletariat and other labouring people and conform with the demands of social development. Communists seek no selfish interests of their own but work for the benefits of the majority of the world's people. We are deeply convinced that "ours is a righteous cause. A righteous cause is invulnerable to any enemy." (Mao Tsetung: *Opening Address Delivered at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China*). The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world — this is an objective law independent of man's will. That is why we Communists need not conceal our own views and aims; instead, we must, through the dissemination of our views and aims, unite and educate the proletariat and other exploited masses to devote themselves to this great and just cause and strive to win victory for the socialist and communist revolution.

In contrast to this, the reactionary classes on the verge of extinction and their representatives, prompted by their narrow class interests and feeble reactionary nature, invariably have to conceal their views and aims and engage in intrigues and conspiracy. This was exactly what the Lin Piao anti-Party clique did. Being counter-revolutionary double-dealers, members of this clique assumed a hypocritical pose in public while carrying out counter-revolutionary underhand activities on the sly. But since they opposed the revolution, it was impossible for them to conceal their own views, aims and true features completely. They could not but eventually expose themselves before the masses and end up in ignominious self-destruction.

Question: Why did Marx and Engels say that "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win"?

Answer: This remark shows the broad-mindedness and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat in emancipating all mankind. Proletarians are so poor that they own nothing save the chains clapped on them by the exploiting classes. Because economic status determines political attitude, poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution. The greatest and most revolutionary class in human history, the proletariat is the gravedigger of the capitalist system. Once armed with Marxism, led by its own vanguard the Communist Party and united with the broadest possible masses of the labouring people, this class can surely overthrow the entire capitalist system and all exploitation systems. In this revolution, it will certainly smash the chains around it and completely liberate the whole world.

The chains imposed on the proletariat by the old world include the visible material ones and the invisible spiritual ones, and these must all be shattered. In a sense, smashing the spiritual chains of old ideas, old

traditions and old habits is more difficult than smashing the material chains.

I also hope that in addition to talks and lectures you will devote some time to reading at least some of the most important works of Marx and Engels. I have no doubt that these most important works are to be found in the catalogues of literature and in the handbooks which are available to the pupils of the Soviet and Party school; and although, again, some of you may at first be dismayed by the difficulty of the exposition, I must again warn you that you should not be perturbed by this fact and that what is unclear at a first reading will become clear at a second reading, or when you subsequently approach the question from a somewhat different angle. For I once more repeat that the question is so complex and has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers that anybody who desires to study this question seriously and to master it independently must attack it several times, return to it again and again and consider the question from various angles in order to attain a clear and definite understanding of it. And it will be all the easier to return to this question because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question of all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across this question in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question. Every day, in one connection or another, you will be returning to this question: what is the state, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the Party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party — what is its attitude to the state?

V.I. Lenin: *The State* (July 1919)

Question: Why did Lenin say that the question of the state is such a fundamental and basic question of all politics, a question which has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers?

Answer: Marxism tells us that the question of political power is the fundamental question of all revolutions. In essence, the question of the state is a question of which class controls political power and exercises dictatorship. China today is in the historical period of socialism and the question of the state in this period is one of persisting in the dictatorship of the proletariat or going back to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is a matter of prime importance concerning the destiny and future of the proletariat and other labouring people. That is why Lenin said that "it is such a fundamental, such a basic question of all politics."

Precisely because of the great importance of this question, the bourgeoisie, through its spokesmen, confuses it in order to cover up its criminal aims. All bourgeois scholars and writers without exception describe the state as something above classes and deny that it is a tool for class oppression, saying that the state is an organ of class reconciliation, it is free and its mission is to protect the interests of all people, and so forth. Some bourgeois scholars even have gone so far as to put a mysterious religious veneer on the state, describing it as something supra-natural and as a heavenly endowed force on which human subsistence depends. The revisionists who are agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party also have trumpeted such fallacies as "pure democracy," "the state of the whole people" and "benevolent government" in opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They confuse the question of the state to such an extent that, as Lenin pointed out, "**the doctrine of the state serves as a justification of social privilege, a justification of the existence of exploitation, a justification of the existence of capitalism.**" (*The State*) In fact, what they have done serves precisely to nail the lie that the state is "above classes."

Question: Why did Lenin stress reading and study to get the question of the state clear?

Answer: This is because this question is a basic and fundamental question of all politics. It is not only an important theoretical question which has been so confused by the bourgeoisie, but also a practical question we come across every day. That is why proletarian revolutionaries must have a clear understanding of it by integrating theory with practice. Just as Chairman Mao has said: "**Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.**"

To understand this question, Lenin not only asked us to devote some time to reading at least some of the most important works of Marx and Engels, but also urged us not to be dismayed and perturbed when difficulties arise. Only when we read several times, time and again consider the question from various angles in connection with practice and return to it and ponder over it again and again can we get a clear and thorough understanding. This is still of great significance in guiding our theoretical study today. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that to "**practise Marxism, and not revisionism,**" distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to "**read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism.**" Time and again he has stressed that in studying Marxism we must keep to the revolutionary style of study which links theory with practice. In the course of studying Marxism-Leninism and criticizing revisionism, we should gradually overcome the two erroneous tendencies of empiricism and dogmatism. Though empiricism and dogmatism have different manifestations, both aim at revising Marxism and run counter to the principle of linking theory with practice.

ON THE HOME FRONT

New Techniques in Chemical and Oil Refining Industries

CHINESE workers, scientists and technicians in the chemical and oil refining industries are doing their level best to scale new heights in science and technology. They have succeeded in studying and widely popularizing new techniques and technology of advanced level.

The Great Cultural Revolution has given impetus to the vigorous development of mass activities in scientific experimentation and technical innovation. "Three-in-one" groups composed of workers, cadres and technicians have been set up at workshop and factory levels in many chemical works and oil refineries. Special institutes for scientific research have also been formed in some places as well as in key enterprises. The number of full-time chemical and oil refining research workers is now more than 41 times that of the early post-liberation years.

With the steady increase of scientific research workers, achievements in scientific research are much greater than those before the Great Cultural Revolution. China's oil refining industry is now capable of solving major scientific and technical problems independently and turning out a complete range of products in greater numbers and of better quality to meet the needs of the continuously advancing national economy and national defence construction.

China's chemical industry has developed from a very weak foundation into one of considerable size embracing practically all branches. This is closely connected with the

development of scientific research in this industry. For example, due to the change in the use of raw materials, the Lanchow Chemical Company in recent years has produced more than one half of its synthetic ammonia without using coal and more than one half of its synthetic rubber without using grain or alcohol. Co-operating with another plant, the company successfully made a set of key equipment for the petrochemical industry, the first of its kind in China. It includes the cracked gas turbo-compressor, ethylene turbo-compressor and propylene turbo-compressor. This year, it has succeeded in tackling more than 200 key problems in production techniques. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lanchow Oil Refinery has made scientific research achievements and important technical innovations totalling over 1,100 items. In addition to a number of top-grade oil products urgently needed by the state, it has also turned out many new types of catalysts and additives and introduced some new oil refining techniques and technology peculiar to China.

Self-Sufficiency in Vegetables

CHANGCHUN, an industrial city with a population of 1.3 million in northeast China, has attained self-sufficiency in vegetables this year.

Ensuring an ample supply of vegetables and non-staple food in cities is a matter of great importance concerning the improvement of the life of the urban people, the consolidation of the worker-peasant

alliance and the sound development of socialist construction. At a meeting held early this year by Changchun's Party committee, it was decided that the main task for suburban communes was to grow vegetables and that great efforts should be made at the same time to raise more pigs, poultry and fish.

Government departments in Changchun have actively supported vegetable production on the outskirts. The state guarantees vegetable-growers their food grain allowances. Commercial departments see to it that vegetables are purchased at reasonable prices so as to provide a stable income for the growers. Industrial departments make sure that communes and production brigades are supplied with farm machinery, irrigation equipment, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and other material needed.

Following the principle of serving the cities, cadres and commune members in suburban Changchun have concentrated manpower, machinery and funds on vegetable production, water conservancy and soil amelioration. A great number of film plastics greenhouses have been set up for growing vegetables in winter which is much longer in the north. Their efforts have paid off this year: cucumbers and leeks went to market a month earlier than usual; haricot beans and eggplants were planted five times to ensure a steady supply for four consecutive months; the acreage sown to tomato, pepper and other vegetables was greatly expanded; and some common vegetables in the south, such as cauliflower, sponge gourds and serpent gourds, were grown for the first time in Changchun.

Great headway has also been made in the production of pork, poultry, freshwater fish, milk and fruit.

ROUND THE WORLD

BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L)

National Congress

The National Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium was held recently. The Belgian weekly *Clarte et l'Exploite* in its November 13-19 issue reported on this and carried the congress' document entitled "The Proletarian Revolution — a Struggle Against the Two Superpowers, for National Independence and the Forming of a United Front."

The document said: "The present international situation is one characterized by great and growing disorder on the earth."

"U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism," it noted, "are the biggest oppressors and exploiters in the world today. Their contention for world hegemony is getting more and more intense. They are increasing armaments on a large scale. There is no detente in the world, but prolonged confrontation between the two superpowers."

"Lenin pointed out that where there is imperialism, there are imperialist wars. This is independent of man's will. The fierce rivalry between the two superpowers is bound to lead to a third world war and we must get prepared," it continued.

"Europe is the focus of the contention between the two superpowers. It is a piece of meat coveted by both." It pointed out: U.S. imperialism is on the decline. "Of course, it can still do many more evil things, but its decline is beyond remedy." Russian social-imperialism is a new and rising imperialism which wants to supplant U.S. imperialism everywhere. It is madly expanding armaments that are used basically to cope with Western Europe. Three-quarters of the Soviet armed forces are directed at Western Europe. The Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean has surpassed that of the United States. The naval base in the Kola Peninsula, the most important base in the world, enables the Russian social-imperialists to control the whole of

the North Atlantic, the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea. Russian submarines with nuclear missiles in the Atlantic constitute a screen extending from North Cape to the Moroccan shore. In Europe, the balance of military strength is highly favourable to the Soviet Union."

The document continued: "In a word, Soviet military strength is treble that of NATO. The Soviet general staff can gain control of the Ruhr basin in 48 to 72 hours, and from there to the Belgian hinterland and the northern part of France. Obviously, we shall face an aggressor army of the Hitler style."

"Russian social-imperialist aggression is the main danger to the European people today."

"The main obstacles to the world proletarian revolution," it pointed out, "are the two superpowers." "Our revolutionary struggle will undergo a stage of struggle for national independence, and we should fight to form the broadest united front which will include some sections of the bourgeoisie. The most pressing need at present is to work out a correct policy on the united front for national independence."

The document called on Marxist-Leninists of all countries to work firmly and unyieldingly to form a world united front against the superpowers. "That means that we support the West European people and countries in getting united to oppose the two superpowers; we support any progress against the two superpowers in the political, economic and military integration of Europe." "We will also wage an unremitting struggle against the monopoly capitalists who might use the unification to further exploit the labouring people."

It went on to say: "To form a world united front against the superpowers means that the people of all countries in Western Europe must unite with the countries and people in the third world which are the motive force of history." "Such a unity requires a persisting and large-

scale struggle against the trend of colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the trend of exploiting the third world. These trends exist in the bourgeoisie of the West European countries, including Belgium."

"Our struggle is a political struggle of leading the masses of the people in the fight to form a united front against the two superpowers' hegemonism," the document emphasized. "Our united front policy is not contradictory to the proletarian revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, it is part of the struggle."

NATO

Maintaining Strong Defence

Defence ministers of the NATO countries met in Brussels on December 9 and 10. A communique issued after the meeting said that in view of stepped-up Warsaw Pact and Soviet arms expansion and war preparations, NATO should "maintain strong forces for deterrence and defence."

"Ministers expressed their grave concern at current trends which are altering the relative military strengths of NATO and the Warsaw Pact," the communique said. It noted the increasing fire power, mobility and armoured strength of the Warsaw Pact forces, "the growth and worldwide deployment of the Soviet navy, including the introduction into service of large numbers of nuclear-propelled attack and missile carrying submarines, and the change in emphasis from air defence to offensive operations in Warsaw Pact air forces." It reaffirmed the need for NATO to maintain strong forces which should possess a complete range of capabilities necessary for implementing the strategy of flexibility in response.

Addressing the meeting on December 9, Britain's Admiral of the Fleet Sir Peter Hill-Norton, Chairman of NATO's Military Committee, said that the Warsaw Pact showed "a steady and continuous improvement in both quality and quantity of weapons, equipment and training, with growing emphasis on offensive capability" which posed a threat to the security of the NATO countries. Past years have seen striking development by the Soviet navy, he noted,

adding that the combat strength of the Soviet Northern Fleet had been greatly augmented. This, he said, underlines the importance the Soviets attach to cutting the lifeline between North America and Europe, and between Europe and the oil producing areas.

He stressed that NATO should have "adequate, well-equipped and well-trained ready forces in the forward areas, on land, at sea and in the air."

Georg Leber, Defence Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, emphasized at the meeting that the Western countries should not weaken their armed forces. He also spoke of his country's efforts in strengthening defence and increasing money being spent on new weapons and other equipment.

British Secretary of State for Defence Roy Mason assured the meeting in his statement that Britain would not reduce its NATO commitments.

Canadian Minister of National Defence James Richardson told the meeting that Canadian defence budget estimates for fiscal year 1975-76 represented an increase of 18.7 per cent over fiscal 1974-75. In explaining his government's decision, the Canadian Defence Minister recently said that the strengthening of defence is largely aimed at an aggressor from outside — the Soviet Union. The protection of Canada, he pointed out, involves the tasks related to fishery resources and to the Canadian north "where there are encroachments on Canadian sovereignty from a number of sources."

U.S. Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld reaffirmed that NATO remains "the foundation of U.S. foreign policy." He also stressed the need to keep NATO's "defence potential at a high level."

U.N.

Indonesia's Withdrawal From East Timor Demanded

The Fourth Committee (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories) of the U.N. General Assembly in a resolution adopted on December 11 strongly deplored military intervention by Indonesian armed forces in East Timor and called on the Indonesian Government to desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of East Timor and to withdraw its armed forces without delay, so as to enable the people there freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

It called on all states to respect the unity and territorial integrity of East Timor, drew the attention of the U.N. Security Council to the critical situation there and recommended that it should take urgent action to protect the territorial integrity of East Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination.

In a statement after the vote, Chinese Representative Wu Miao-fa said: The resolution opposes military intervention by Indonesian armed forces, asks the Indonesian Government to withdraw its armed forces without delay from East Timor and calls upon all countries to respect East Timor's unity and territorial integrity. All this reflects the just

demand of the United Nations and the world's people, and the Chinese Delegation supports it.

He pointed out that in view of the fact that the Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) has already proclaimed the independence of East Timor, the question of negotiations between the parties concerned should be solved by the people of East Timor themselves. Regarding the resolution's suggestion that the United Nations send an investigation group to East Timor as soon as possible, he said, the Chinese Delegation holds that in the circumstances of the Indonesian armed aggression, such an investigation group would not only be of no avail, but would probably be used to put a rubber stamp on the fait accompli resulting from the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. The Chinese Delegation, he declared, had reservations about that paragraph in the resolution and called on all justice-upholding countries to maintain high vigilance against such a probability.

Sponsored by Guyana, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Trinidad and Tobago, the draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 69 (including China) in favour, 11 against and 38 abstentions.

In the debate before adopting the resolution, representatives of China, Mozambique, Tanzania, Algeria, Sri Lanka and other countries in their speeches condemned the Indonesian armed intervention in East Timor and demanded the withdrawal of its armed forces from there.

(Continued from p. 11.)

third world in 1974 was 84.6 per cent over that of the previous year while total value of exports to the third world increased 48.7 per cent over that of 1973. Confronted by reality, some second world countries have gradually come to understand that only by strengthening their ties with the third world can they withstand pressure from the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union in particular, and safeguard their political independence and economic rights and interests. President of the Commission of the European Communities Francois-Xavier Ortoli told the European Parliament last February that Europe must recover its

sovereignty by reducing economic and political reliance [on the two superpowers] and that this policy of recovering European sovereignty should have establishment of new relations with the third world as its basis.

The third world today is developing and growing vigorously and has become the main force in opposing superpower hegemonism. If the second and third world countries, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality, persevere in "dialogue" and develop their relations, this will benefit the worldwide struggle against superpower hegemonism. There is no doubt that such "dialogue" and links have a wide scope for development.

Friendship Notes

Congratulating Laotian Brothers

The week the People's Democratic Republic of Laos was founded, *Renmin Ribao* published an article written jointly by three workers of a Yunnan highway surveying team that had worked in Laos. The article congratulated the fraternal Laotian brothers on the great victories they had won.

It recalled the authors' days in Laos during its revolutionary war. Despite wanton bombing by enemy planes that brought highway and farmland destructions, the Laotian people refused to give in. They moved their schools, hospitals and factories into mountain caves, persisting in work and study there. They also organized militia to defend their homes and set up mutual aid teams to build water conservancy works to produce more grain in support of the front.

Referring to the hospitable reception the Laotian people gave the team members, the article recalled that they had lived there as though they were home. Chinese and Laotian friends got together on holidays during which they would dance the Laotian *Unity Dance*. Laotian

people also greatly helped the surveying team's work. "When we went out to work, they volunteered to serve as guides and even accompanied us back to where we stayed. Every time machinery was transported to where we were, they came to help us unload and assemble of their own accord." The authors added: "Profound friendship was cemented when we lived and worked together with the Laotian people. All these moving scenes flash through our minds to this day. Once the doctors of our team successfully did a Caesarean operation on a woman who lived where we were camped. Several months later after we had moved to another place, she travelled several hundred kilometres to see us, bringing coconuts and bananas. We were greatly touched."

Surveying in Mauritania

For nearly two months from April to June this year a Chinese group made a survey of Mauritania's medicinal herbs. Travelling more than 10,000 kilometres over hills and deserts, the group discovered lots of herbs, many important ones never found in China. The group members

called on local doctors who told them about many indigenous medical methods. Wherever they went, they were enthusiastically received and helped by local authorities and people. Such a moving scene of profound sentiment left a lasting impression on the members of the group.

The governor of Keurmassen Province sent guides and guards to escort the group deep into the hunting areas. Travelling a long distance to help the group, Mauritanian herds-men finally succeeded in getting a valuable medicinal herb with an anti-cancer substance from a bush.

A local doctor explained to the group members the characteristics of various kinds of poisonous snakes in his locality and the medicine used against them. Another doctor held nothing back in informing them of his valuable prescriptions for curing toothaches. An old man imparted to the group medical knowledge handed down by previous generations in his family. Many other doctors volunteered to act as guides, interpreters or advisers.

The doctors' earnest attitude towards introducing these rich medical experiences deeply moved a Mauritanian friend accompanying the group. He said: "Local Mauritanian doctors keep nothing secret from their Chinese guests in passing on their medical knowledge, because there is a sincere and profound friendship between the Mauritanian and Chinese peoples. If the colonialists come to them, the doctors will tell them nothing even if they try to strangle them."

Visiting Northern Europe

The Tientsin Acrobatics Troupe of China not long ago made a more than two-month friendly tour of Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

There were many moving scenes showing the profound friendship of the North European people for the Chinese people.

Over 30 port workers from Lulea Port in northeast Sweden started out at 5 a.m. and



China's Tientsin Acrobatics Troupe welcomed by Finnish audience.

travelled nearly 1,000 kilometres to Stockholm to meet Chinese performers at a theatre. When troupe members were busy packing their stage property after their final show in Denmark, scores of spectators who had made a special trip from more than 100 kilometres away to see the performance helped them with packing. In Norway, the troupe went on stage for the workers of a shipyard. Neglecting a drizzle, workers watched the performance from docks, on scaffolding and from cranes.

The troupe arrived in the Danish city of Aarhus at the time of China's 26th National Day. Danish friends sponsored an evening party to joyously mark this red-letter day together with Chinese troupe members. Two university girls in that city performed in fluent Chinese the dialogue from *Friendship*, a cross-talk item created by Chinese literary and art workers about the deeds of Chinese workers and technicians in carrying out their internationalist duty to build the Tanzania-Zambia Railway together with the local people. Teachers and students from the same university also acted out in Chinese the playlet *Mr. Tungkuo*, adapted from a Chinese folk tale of the same name. The story is about the disastrous results brought upon Mr. Tungkuo by his act of "kindness" in saving a wolf from being killed by a hunter. "The story is of real significance to the Danish people today," said one Danish friend. "It tells us that we should draw a clear demarcation line between friends and enemies; particularly we should watch out against those friends in disguise."

The North European people's determination to safeguard national independence and oppose hegemonism made deep impressions on the Chinese performers.

When the troupe went sightseeing at the seaside in Helsinki, a Finnish friend pointed to a distant islet, saying: "That is a military base. Finland is a small country. We must strengthen our defences to defend our freedom and independence. That big power to the east of our country styles itself our 'friendly neighbour.' But we must maintain sharp vigilance

for fear of being conquered by that superpower overnight." A government official in Sweden told the Chinese performers: "We have a common neighbour which is north of your country and east of ours. It is none other than that superpower. Both of us don't want to be under superpower control." In Norway, a worker said: "Soviet aircraft and submarines have invaded Norway's airspace and territorial waters frequently. They are now carrying out a missile exercise in the Barents Sea. This openly menaces us." When the troupe visited Iceland, people in Reykjavik told the performers how they had fought to defend their fishing resources and oppose hegemonism. On the eve of the troupe's arrival, the Icelandic Government proclaimed the extension of its fishing area from 50 to 200 nautical miles.

Friendly ties and joint struggles link up the North European and Chinese peoples.

Chinese Peasant Paintings Exhibited

Eighty original paintings by Huhsien County peasants (for examples see *Peking Review*, No. 1, 1975) were shown at the "Biennial of Paris" from September 19 to November 2. Favourably received by art enthusiasts in France and other West European countries, they were acclaimed as works being "true to life" and "showing the wisdom and industry of the Chinese peasants" in a "lucid style" full of "vigour." Many copies were sold out in a few days.

An album of these peasant paintings has recently been published in Italy. It was compiled by the Gruppo Iniziative Editoriali in the Italian city of Komo. In the preface, the editors praised the Chinese peasant painters for their achievements in the field of art under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art. They pointed out that the Huhsien County peasant painters have portrayed China's present realities in a traditional style, reflecting the great cause the Chinese people are undertaking.

Sports News

• The 8th Asian Men's Basketball Championships took place in Bangkok in November. China won the championship with Japan the runner-up.

The day before the championships opened, the 8th Congress of the Asian Basketball Confederation (A.B.C.) in Bangkok unanimously adopted the decision made last August by the A.B.C. Executive Committee to expel the Chiang clique from the A.B.C. and affirm the legitimate seat of the People's Republic of China in it.

• The Chinese Men's Basketball Team visited Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and the newly independent Surinam. China's Women's Basketball Team visited Peru, Mexico and the United States.

• The Chinese Table Tennis Team not long ago visited Belgium, Luxembourg, Yugoslavia and Sweden.

The team took part in the 21st Yugoslav International Table Tennis Championships in Lubiana and the 18th Scandinavian Table Tennis International Championships in Kalmar.

• Three football teams from Peking, Tientsin and Kwangtung respectively visited Mozambique, Madagascar, Niger, Gabon, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Yemen Arab Republic and the Congo.

• During its China tour, the Romanian Speed-Skating Team took part in a friendly competition with the Heilungkiang Provincial Team in Harbin.

• An Australian men's basketball team visited Kwangchow, Peking and Shanghai.

• More than 16,000 spectators saw the friendly match between the South Sweden Combination Ice Hockey Team and the Tsitsihar Ice Hockey Team from northeast China's Heilungkiang Province on the evening of December 12 at the Capital Gymnasium.

• A Canadian women's basketball team visited China.

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